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SELF, COMMUNITY AND STATE

THE CASE OF LARISA ARAP

ABSTRACT **Jednostka, wspólnota i państwo. Przypadek Larisy Arap**

Po upadku Związku Radzieckiego władze Rosji podejmowały liczne starania o to, by opinia publiczna uwierzyła, że problem nadużyć w psychiatrii oraz wykorzystania jej do celów politycznych został rozwiązany. Według raportów i danych z ostatnich 10 lat znane z okresu radzieckiego nadużycia w tej dziedzinie wciąż mają miejsce. Nadal wskazać można konkretne przypadki bezprawnego kierowania pacjentów na przymusowe leczenie, wydawania błędnych ekspertyz psychiatrycznych (czy to krzywdzących pacjenta, czy próbujących usprawiedliwić jego postępowanie). Tego typu obserwacje skłaniają do podjęcia refleksji na temat wzajemnych relacji między jednostką a państwem, a także rolę wspólnoty w procesie kształtowania społeczno-politycznego ładu oraz wzajemnych relacji międzyludzkich w państwie, jak również zastanowienia się nad kondycją samej psychiatrii we współczesnej Rosji. Odnieść bowiem można wrażenia, że mimo wielu zmian, jakie dokonały się w przestrzeni kultury rosyjskiej w ciągu ostatnich dwóch dekad, celem jej wciąż jest raczej ochrona interesów państwa niż zapewnianie opieki chorym. Tak postawioną tezę ilustruje przypadek Larisy Arap.

Słowa kluczowe: nadużycia polityczne w psychiatrii, rosyjscy dysydenci, Larisa Arap, jednostka a państwo

Keywords: political abuse of psychiatry, Russian dissidents, Larisa Arap, individual versus state

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union different authorities wanted to make the public believe that the problem of, what we call a systematic political abuse of psychiatry in Russia, was solved. According to the most recent reports of last 10 years on particular cases (Platon Obukhov, Yuri Budanov, Tamara Rakevich¹), such a misuse of psychiatry – as wrongful examinations, involuntary treatment and other psychiatric persecutions – is still taking place. It makes us reflect on the mutual relations between an individual and the state, the role of the community – or communities – in this process as well as the condition of psychiatry itself. Isn't its aim to protect the state rather than to treat the sick? The case of Larisa Arap depicts the thesis.

First, let's have a look at the person herself and her political background.

Larisa Arap (rus.: Лариса Арап) was born in 1958². She is a Russian opposition journalist and human rights activist, a member of the Murmansk branch of the United Civil Front (rus.: Объединённый Гражданский Фронт) – a social movement founded in 2005 and led by a chess grandmaster Garry Kasparov³. The organization is a part of The Other Russia (rus.: Другая Россия), an opposition coalition, that includes both left and right-wing opposition leaders as well as mainstream liberals, such as Lyudmila Alexeyeva, Vladimir Ryzhkov or Eduard Limonov, and also once a political party led by Limonov, which is unregistered nowadays⁴. The name – The Other Russia – is a word-play referring to the name of Vladimir Putin's party – United Russia (rus.: Единая Россия). The United Civil Front is best known for participating in the organization of famous Dissenters' Marches (rus.: Марш несогласных)⁵. Larisa Arap had been preparing texts on vital issues, then published in many editions of the UCF newspaper "Marsh Nesoglasnykh" – named after the key event of the organization. Arap had also occasionally spoken at demonstrations organized by the United Civil Front⁶.

The story and the case.

Arap's story, entitled *Madhouse*⁷ (full title: *Madhouse: Larisa Arap's account about punitive medicine*; rus.: Дурдом: Рассказ Ларисы Арап о карательной медицине), was actually a kind of an interview she gave to another journalist – Ilona Novikova. The text, which now in its unabridged version can be easily found on the Internet,

¹ See: B. Brązkiewicz, *Choroba psychiczna w literaturze i kulturze rosyjskiej*, Kraków 2011, p. 293-300, Societas, 27.

² See: 'Хотелось бы иметь права', *Новая газета*, 2 August 2007.

³ See information provided online at <<http://www.rufont.ru>>, 15 May 2012.

⁴ See information provided online at <<http://www.theotherrussia.org>>, 15 May 2012.

⁵ See information provided online at <<http://www.namarsh.ru>>, 15 May 2012.

⁶ See: 'Opposition Activist Released from Forced Psychiatric Hospitalization', 20 August 2007, *Committee to Protect Journalists*, at <<http://cpj.org/2007/08/opposition-activist-released-from-forced-psychiatr.php>>, 15 May 2012.

⁷ Full text see: И. Новикова, 'Дурдом: Рассказ Ларисы Арап о карательной медицине', 30 July 2007, *Марш несогласных*, at <<http://www.namarsh.ru/materials/46ADBD39A306F.html>>, 15 May 2012.

was originally published on June 8, 2007, in the Murmansk edition of the newspaper “Marsh Nesoglasnykh”⁸. The story told by Arap in the article, described crimes that allegedly took place at the psychiatric facility located in Apatity (rus.: Апатиты), a small town of about 60,000 people in Murmansk Oblast. The text included the following expositions:

- Murder of mental patients in order to gain their organs for transplantation.
- Forcing children to stand in a circle, to sing and dance around the ring for long periods at a time. Then, exhausted, the children were made to kiss and massage the legs of staff members at the hospital; if any of them couldn’t bear it, or refused to do it then electroshock ‘therapy’ was applied.
- Rape and torture of patients in the psychiatric facilities.
- Keeping absolutely sane but ‘inconvenient’ people in the hospital, such as a woman who complained about the rape of her daughter during class in an exclusive school of Murmansk – to avoid scandal; or another woman who was imprisoned in the ward to enable confiscation of her property.⁹

A month later, on July 5, 2007, Arap went to a clinic in the city of Severomorsk to obtain the results of a medical examination, which she had passed a month earlier to renew her driver’s license¹⁰. During a routine medical examination – in fact, all Arap needed at that time was just a signature from a doctor certifying that she was in good health – the doctor, Olga Reshet, asked her whether she had authored the pieces on the psychiatric wards in the *Madhouse* article¹¹. After receiving a confirmation from Arap that she was indeed the author, Dr. Reshet told her to wait outside¹². Within hours, Arap was detained by Militsiya (now renamed the Politsiya, since the change that had been performed in 2011) and forcibly put into a psychiatric ambulance, which took her to the Murmansk psychiatric clinic¹³. In the hospital she was injected with drugs, that weakened her, caused her tongue to swell – she could hardly speak, blurred her vision and left her unable to maintain her balance, her reflexes were very uncertain¹⁴. The detention, which was to be proved later, was illegal, since the decision of a judge authorizing her detention and treatment was issued only afterwards, thirteen days later.

⁸ Ibid. See also an ‘Open letter sent by Committee to Protect Journalists to President Vladimir Putin’, 14 August 2007, *Committee to Protect Journalists*, at <<http://cpj.org/2007/08/writer-forcibly-hospitalized-in-russia.php>>, 15 May 2012.

⁹ See: U. Новикова, ‘Дурадом...’ See also: Ch. Arnold, ‘Activist Sent to Psychiatric Unit after Exposing Health Facilities’, 2 August 2007, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, at <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1077947.html>>, 15 May 2012. And: A. Blomfield, ‘Labelled Mad for Daring to Criticise the Kremlin’, *The Telegraph*, 13 August 2007.

¹⁰ See: A. Rodriguez, ‘Russian Dissidents Called Mentally Ill. Soviet-era Practice Revived, Activists Say’, *Chicago Tribune*, 7 August 2007.

¹¹ See: ‘Хотелось бы иметь...’

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

In Severomorsk, Arap, using her mobile phone, called her husband, Dmitri Tereshin, who, intending to help her, came from Murmansk to Severomorsk, but by this time she had already been moved to Murmansk¹⁵. The personnel of the facility definitely refused to give her husband any information regarding the reason for the hospitalization. That same evening, their daughter Taisiya Arap came to Murmansk clinic. The duty medic, Yulya Kopyia, told her that publication of the article *Madhouse* proved her mother's insanity¹⁶. Kopyia also said that Taisiya would be put into the psychiatric hospital, too, if she insisted on obtaining documents concerning Arap's hospitalization¹⁷. Taisiya was later fired from her job in a local bank when she refused to stop giving interviews about her mother's situation¹⁸.

Arap's husband and daughter were allowed to visit her at the hospital two days later, on July 7, 2007¹⁹. Arap claimed that she was severely beaten by the medical personnel and had bruises all over her body²⁰. She was forced to undress in front of male patients, and later tied to her bed naked and treated with unidentified 'sedatives' that brought an overly-calming effect to her²¹. To protest against such procedures, Arap went on a five-day hunger strike, but her objections were fully disregarded and she was eventually fed by force²².

The court in Murmansk finally sanctioned hospitalization of Arap on July 18, 2007, at the same time the requests from her husband and daughter to release her were ignored²³. Arap's relatives insisted that she was not a danger to herself or society, but the court proved to be insusceptible to their assertions.

On July 26, Arap was relocated to the Apatity facility²⁴ – the same, that was described in the article, and a couple of days later, on July 30, 2007, Vladimir Lukin – currently serving as the Human Rights Commissioner of Russia – chose an "expert commission" headed by Yuri Savenko, president of the Independent Psychiatric Association of Russia, to investigate the foundations of Arap's hospitalization²⁵. According to Yuri

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See: 'Larisa Arap Update', 10 August 2007, *The Other Russia*, at <<http://www.theother-russia.org/2007/08/10/larisa-arap-update/>>, 15 May 2012.

¹⁹ See: 'Хотелось бы иметь...'

²⁰ See: 'Смирительная каталажка', 21 August 2007, *Грани.Ру*, at <<http://www.grani.ru/Society/m.126311.html>>, 15 May 2012.

²¹ Ibid. See also: Л. Арап, 'Не доказуемо! Несогласных власть карает психбольницей', 23 October 2007, *Каспаров.ру. Интернет-газета Гарри Каспарова*, at <<http://www.kasparov.ru/material.php?id=471DEC4D89838>>, 15 May 2012. And: A. Blomfield, 'Labelled Mad...'

²² See: 'Larisa Arap Hunger Strike Continues', 8 August 2007, *The Other Russia*, at <<http://www.theother-russia.org/2007/08/08/larisa-arap-hunger-strike-continues/>>, 15 May 2012.

²³ See: 'Хотелось бы иметь...'

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Savenko, the forceful hospitalization of Arap was completely unwarranted²⁶. At the same time he said that Arap “showed signs of mental instability”²⁷ and that Arap admitted to being briefly hospitalized for stress and insomnia in 2004²⁸. Savenko explained his assessment of the situation as follows:

*We studied medical documents and materials related to the case, and spent an hour and a half with her. The result was that we came to the conclusion that we’re dealing with a person who is in fact ill. There are no ‘politics’ behind this. However, the politicization of our entire life is such that these patients become the first victims of the situation.*²⁹

He added, that under the circumstances, the forced treatment was likely to worsen, rather than alleviate, Arap’s condition.³⁰

Savenko also remarked that: *We’re returning to this Soviet scenario when psychiatric institutions are used as punitive instruments. I call this not even punitive psychiatry but police psychiatry, when the main aim is to protect the state rather than to treat sick people.*³¹

He also noticed: *And it’s been revealed with unusual clarity that punitive psychiatry, so-called ‘police’ psychiatry, is alive and well. Because Larisa Arap, from the very beginning, presented no immediate danger to herself or others.*³²

Upon her release from the hospital on August 20, Arap said that the clinic staff tried to force her to sign a declaration stating that she was being treated voluntarily³³. She refused, but she was forced to sign another declaration – an agreement to continue medical treatment, and wait for the next decision of the court³⁴. According to her, there was no other solution than to write this declaration³⁵. They wouldn’t have let her go otherwise. She was told by doctors during her release: *Everything in the court is under our control. Doctors, police, and prosecutors are the same team. You have nowhere to go... We are letting you go, but you must think about your family.*³⁶

After her release, Arap, who had previously, a couple of years earlier, suffered only from mild depression, but during the sojourn in Murmansk and Apatity psychiatric facilities was severely beaten, drugged, humiliated and suffered spine damage in the ho-

²⁶ See: ‘Активистку оппозиции оставили в психбольнице’, 10 August 2007, *Русская служба Би-би-си*, at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/russia/newsid_6940000/6940265.stm>, 15 May 2012.

²⁷ S. Volskaya, O. Vakhonicheva, ‘Is Coercive Psychology Staging A Comeback?’, 22 August 2007, *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, at <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1078204.html>>, 15 May 2012.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ A. Rodriguez, ‘Russian Dissidents...’

³² S. Volskaya, O. Vakhonicheva, ‘Is Coercive Psychology...’

³³ See: ‘Смирительная каталажка...’

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

spital, described her ordeal: *I feel very sick... I have no idea what they gave me but I have memory loss. I lost all sense of time and can't remember much of what they did to me. They tied and beat me. It was torture. I saw other perfectly sane people inside.*³⁷

In October 2007, Arap published another text, in which one can find some details about her stay in Murmansk and Apatity psychiatric hospitals. The conclusion is that psychiatrists in those facilities enjoy full autonomy and remain out of any control. Arap also noticed, that a great amount of human tragedies take place in there³⁸. In her article Arap remarked as follows:

*Yes, in Russia there is 'democracy and glasnost'. If you – even knowing that it is not so – proclaim across the nation that you have a better life, that you are satisfied with your job, with your wages, with fair pensions – especially looking at our old men, that your healthy children and grandchildren are facing a bright future, that you and your relatives feel safe and secure – then, according to psychiatrists, you are mentally healthy, you are a normal person. But, if you're not afraid to express your disagreement with current authorities, with restricting your rights, with poor social care, then you're likely to run across psychiatrists. They apply the Article 29 of the Federal Law 'On psychiatric assistance' freely – 'dangerous to himself or others...' Dangerous with your discontent...*³⁹

It is worth pointing out, that the decision of the court about the involuntary hospitalization of Arap still remains in force.

Now, let me present two possible approaches to the case.

The first one refers legal method, applying arguments appropriate for case law analysis as well as referring to medical criteria. To present it briefly, from this point of view the case is clear, obvious and seems to need no additional explanations. Larisa Arap was hospitalized in involuntary procedure in accordance with item «a» of Article 29 of the *Law on psychiatric assistance and guarantees of the rights of citizens during the rendering thereof* (Закон Российской Федерации О психиатрической помощи и гарантиях прав граждан при ее оказании)⁴⁰ as representing an immediate danger to herself and those around her⁴¹. Later, the administration of the hospital turned to a court with a request to extend the compulsory treatment of Larisa Arap under item «c» of Article 29, according to which living without psychiatric assistance can bring “substantial harm to health in consequence of a deterioration of mental state”⁴². The commission established by Human Rights Ombudsman acknowledged, that “Arap indeed does have mental disorders, requiring treatment, and confirmed a diagnosis that had been put out

³⁷ M. Franchetti, 'Putin Brings Back Mental Ward Torment', *The Sunday Times*, 26 August 2007.

³⁸ Л. Арап, 'Не доказуемо!..'

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ 'Закон Российской Федерации О психиатрической помощи и гарантиях прав граждан при ее оказании', Информационно-правовая система «ЗАКОН», at <http://ntc.duma.gov.ru/duma_na/asozd/asozd_text.php?code=7971>, 15 May 2012. On the Law itself see: B. Brązkiewicz, *Choroba psychiczna...*, pp. 287-291.

⁴¹ 'Закон...'

⁴² Ibid.

in the year 2004⁴³. However, the actions of the psychiatric service of Murmansk Oblast significantly violated her rights⁴⁴. The compulsory inpatient admission to a psychiatric facility on July 5, 2007 definitely was unjustified, inasmuch as, in fact, she did not represent an “immediate danger” neither to herself, nor to those around her⁴⁵. In this sense, Larisa Arap’s case initially was not political – “it became such to the extent of the international noise around it”⁴⁶.

The second one is based on an attempt to characterize the case using the inter-disciplinary cultural studies approach. In this analysis, as the starting point I suggest to choose the one that involves the model of organizing and determining a society in a kind of a *ménage à trois*, a triangle on the corners of which three different values are placed. Such a typology was proposed by two Swedish researchers, Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh, the co-authors of a provocative book entitled *Är svensken människa?* (2006, eng.: *Is the Swede Human?*)⁴⁷, who applied it to Nordic cultures. According to the two Swedish historians, on the corners of the model triangle mentioned above, one should place the following values: the state, the individual and the family, and the discourse around any country’s culture is based on assumptions about the relationship between the three⁴⁸. While the Swedish model is focused around a direct relationship between an atomized individual and an impersonal state, and Swedes are, in fact, extreme individualists, devoted to the pursuit of personal autonomy, characterized as society with an individualistic mentality rather than collectivistic, the Russian model would be specific in the opposite way. The Russian cultural narrative would focus on a modified model with direct alliance between the state, the individual (or self) and the community – since family relations in Russian culture give way to other communal dependencies, such as traditional Russian *obshchina* – commune⁴⁹. It seems quite obvious if we take under consideration the way people perceive the world in accordance to the results of the investigations that have been made by Professor Richard Nisbett, a distinguished scholar at the University of Michigan. Nisbett, researching in the fields of cognition and culture, in his book *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... And Why* (2003)⁵⁰

⁴³ G. Pasko, ‘You Can’t Understand Russia with the Mind. An interview with prominent Russian psychiatrist Yuri Savenko’, 25 March 2008, RobertAmsterdam.com, at <http://robertamsterdam.com/2008/03/grigory_pasko_you_cant_understand_russia_with_the_mind_part_1/>, 15 May 2012.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ H. Berggren, L. Trägårdh, *Är svensken människa? Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige*, Stockholm 2006.

⁴⁸ H. Berggren, L. Trägårdh, ‘Pippi Longstocking: The Autonomous Child and the Moral Logic of the Swedish Welfare State’, in H. Matsson, S.-O. Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State*, London 2010, pp. 62-65.

⁴⁹ See: R. Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime*, New York 1992, p. 18. See also entries *Коллективизм* and *Община* in: A. de Lazari (ed.), *Mentalność rosyjska. Słownik*, Katowice 1995, p. 43, 60, *Idee w Rosji*.

⁵⁰ R. E. Nisbett, *The Geography of Thought. How Asians and Westerners Think Differently... And Why*, New York 2003.

has proved, that human cognition is not everywhere the same, that Asians and Westerners have maintained very different systems of thought for thousands of years. He has shown that human perception is influenced by the type of culture, which can be of more independent or more interdependent kind⁵¹. The idea of independence and interdependence, characterized by Geert Hofstede⁵² and developed by Nisbett, has to do with how the member is situated within the larger group. At the cultural level independence is associated with individualism and interdependence with collectivism. In this sense, individualism and collectivism has been considered as the willingness and expectations of members of a culture to subordinate their personal goals for the interests of the collective. Independents with their particular aims and interests seem to be separated from the larger group, acting more selfishly, and interdependents, in general overview, seem to more willingly incorporate the preferences of the others – the group, into their own set of preferences. Similarly, at the level of cognition people primed with independence perceive phenomena more analytically, while people primed with interdependence perceive more holistically⁵³. These effects are not always found, but the fact that they can be found at all constitutes support for his theory. In addition, Nisbett has shown, that it's not just that Asians are more holistic, but it seems to be generally the case that more interdependent cultures are more holistic in their perception than more independent cultures⁵⁴. The layout arising from such observations structures a following outline:

independent – individualistic – analytic
interdependent – collectivistic – holistic

According to Nisbett, such scheme also applies to Russia and Russian culture, which, in his opinion, is more interdependent in its essence⁵⁵. And interdependence of Russian culture complements with collectivistic mentality and holistic perception – consistent with the above mentioned.

To illustrate his theory on perceiving the surrounding holistically, Nisbett recalls an interesting comparison based on his experiments: showing to the Americans – the most individualistic society – individual pictures of a chicken, a cow and grass, the subjects

⁵¹ See: idem et al., 'Culture and Systems of Thought. Holistic vs. Analytic Cognition', *Psychological Review*, No. 108 (2001), pp. 291-310.

⁵² See: G. Hofstede, *Culture's consequences. Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*, London 2001, pp. 209-212.

⁵³ R. E. Nisbett, *The Geography of Thought...*, pp. 66-68.

⁵⁴ See: ideam et al., 'Culture and Systems...'

⁵⁵ See Nisbett's comment on Simon Bartheleme's article: *It seems to be generally the case that more interdependent cultures are more holistic in their perception than more independent cultures. This applies to the following comparisons (with the more interdependent culture listed first): Russia vs. the U.S. (...)*. S. Bartheleme, 'Culture and Perception', December 2008, *International Cognition and Culture Institute*, at <<http://www.cognitionandculture.net/home/blog/27-simons-blog/292-culture-and-perception>>, 15 May 2012.

asked to pick out the two that go together, they would usually pick out the chicken and the cow, because they're both animals. Russians, on the other hand, just like most Asian people, would pick out the cow and the grass, since cows eat the grass⁵⁶. The same preference is seen with another set of objects: panda, monkey and banana. Most closely related for Asians would be: monkey and banana⁵⁷. One can see that Americans are more likely to see categories, and Russians, as the following example of a typical Asian-Eastern-holistic mentality are more likely to see relationships.

How can the case of Larisa Arap, the relations in the triangle model of Russian culture with the state, the individual and the community on its corners, and interdependent model of Russian culture be joined together? From this point of view, focusing on relations rather than fact analysis (like in the first approach), Larisa Arap's case again hasn't got much to do with politics. It seems, that it's only us – the Westerners – who would like to associate her case with political abuse of psychiatry. It is similar to what Nisbett noticed:

*Westerners seem inclined to believe there is only one kind of relation between the individual and the state that is appropriate. Individuals are separate units and they enter into a social contract with one another and with the state that entails certain rights, freedoms, and obligations. But most peoples, (...), view societies not as aggregates of individuals but as molecules, or organisms. As a consequence, there is little or no conception of rights that inhere in the individual. (...) it is important to understand that to behave differently would require not just a different moral code, but a different conception of the nature of the individual.*⁵⁸

Larisa Arap's case more likely seems to be a cultural phenomenon, and she indeed is a victim, but the victim of insubordination to the patterns of her own culture. Significant associations between different forms and factors influencing and determining the nature of Russian culture, affected a very distinct attitude toward the mentally ill. The perception of mental illness in Russian culture developed under the influence of many changing factors, determined in following periods by a comprehensive world-view of the Orthodox Christian anthropology, the influence of the 18th century civilization changes, the absolutist character of the Russian Empire, the anthropological revolution during the Soviet period and the submission of psychiatry to the Soviet regime, and by the process of democratization and exposure to Western cultural models in the post-Soviet period as well. These distinctive tendencies can be found in many expressions of Russian culture, becoming more and more important element of reality, to reach the level of a dominant cultural theme by the end of the 19th century, constantly underlining great idealistic, world-view, anthropological and political problems.

Larisa Arap appears as a person, who doesn't approve to be a component of a continuous substance of Russian culture, which might sound weird, scary and strange. But it

⁵⁶ R. E. Nisbett, *The Geography of Thought...*, pp. 140-141.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 198-199.

really is so. Making it more clear, in the terms of Russian culture, which becomes a useful ideology for autocrats – when one's behavior endangers the integrity of the system – or the state rather, the individual's needs, her will and her mind must be subject to strict conditions of collectivist mentality and governing authorities.

Summing up in few words, all Arap did, was an effort made to break out of this model, and she obviously failed. She was defeated, becoming – just like Pyotr Chaadaev⁵⁹ – the victim, characterized with inappropriate behavior towards the traditional conception of the national Russian culture. The history seems to come full circle in the shadows of 'chaadaevization' – a distinctive for Russian culture term applied by Pyotr Grigorenko, another victim of psychiatric imprisonment of the Soviet era⁶⁰.

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⁵⁹ About the case of Pyotr Chaadaev in similar context see: B. Brązkiewicz, 'Jednostka wobec Imperium. (Przypadek Piotra Czaadajewa i Konstantina Batuszkowa)', *Musica Antiqua. Acta Slavica*, Vol. 15 (2009), pp. 173-182.

⁶⁰ On 'chaadaevization' see: idem, *Choroba psychiczna...*, p. 269.

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